

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-19

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 IO-14 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 INR-10 L-03

NSAE-00 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-03 USIA-15 TRSE-00

SAJ-01 SS-20 NSC-07 NEA-10 OMB-01 AEC-11 SAM-01 EB-11

H-03 DRC-01 /169 W

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R 251816Z APR 74

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2032

SECDEF WASHDC

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

USMISSION GENEVA

USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

USNMR SHAPE

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 BONN 06643

TAGS: PARM, NATO, GW

SUBJECT: FRG ATTITUDES TOWARD MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

REF: A) VIENNA 3245 (NOTAL), B) BONN 13738, SEPT 21,
1973, C) BONN 18106, DEC 17, 1973, D) BONN 2919

BEGIN SUMMARY: WE SHARE USDEL MBFR VIEW OF THE
INCREASINGLY CAUTIOUS FRG ATTITUDE TOWARD MBFR BUT
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BELIEVE GERMAN SUPPORT FOR THE MBFR NEGOTIATIONS WILL

BE MAINTAINED AS LONG AS US ADHERES TO POSITION THAT AMERICAN FORCES WILL BE REDUCED ONLY IN AN AGREED ALLIED MBFR FRAMEWORK. MOREOVER, WE EXPECT FRG TO CONTINUE TO INSIST ON BUNDESWEHR PARTICIPATION IN MBFR-II REDUCTIONS, WHILE SEEKING TO AVOID PARTICULAR DANGERS IMPLICIT IN VERIFICATION, CONSTRAINTS AND INDIGENOUS FORCE CUTS. END SUMMARY.

1. LIKE USDEL MBFR (REF A), WE TOO HAVE NOTED INCREASINGLY CAUTIOUS AND CIRCUMSPECT FRG ATTITUDE TOWARD MBFR. LAST SEPTEMBER WE SUBMITTED A DETAILED ANALYSIS (REF B) CONCLUDING THAT "GERMAN MBFR POLICY IS TENDING TO PLACE MORE EMPHASIS ON AVOIDING POTENTIAL OBJECTIVE DANGERS OF RUSSIAN INTERFERENCE IN ALLIANCE DEFENSE POLICY AND EUROPEAN UNIFICATION MOVEMENT, AND LESS PRIORITY ON POTENTIAL DESIDERATA TO BE OBTAINED FROM ENGAGING THE SOVIETS IN MBFR CONTRACTUAL OBLIGATIONS." WE ENUMERATED PARTICULAR MBFR TOPICS-- VERIFICATION, CONSTRAINTS AND INDIGENOUS FORCE REDUCTIONS--WHERE THIS INCREASINGLY CONSERVATIVE APPROACH PROBABLY WOULD BE MANIFESTED.

2. SINCE THAT TIME, THE FRG HAS FORMALLY ADOPTED A MORE CAUTIOUS POSITION ON VERIFICATION (BONN 3785 AND 5335), HAS DISCUSSED WITH US BILATERALLY FURTHER BELT-TIGHTENING IN TERMS OF OBJECTIVES ON STABILIZING MEASURES (BONN 5334) AND IS CONSIDERING HOW TO DESIGN AND FORMULATE AN AGREEMENT ON MBFR-II INDIGENOUS (I.E. BUNDESWEHR) REDUCTIONS THAT COULD AVOID THE DANGERS OF SOVIET INTRUSION. ON THIS LATTER POINT, THE CURRENT GERMAN PREFERENCE SEEMS TO BE TAKING SUCH MBFR-II BUNDESWEHR "REDUCTIONS" BY CONVERSION OF ACTIVE OR "STANDBY READINESS FORCES" (UNDER NEW FORCE STRUCTURE PLAN) TO SOME TYPE OF RESERVE STATUS (BONN 5336).

3. THESE DEVELOPMENTS HAVE NOT ALTERED OUR JUDGMENT THAT, DESPITE RESERVATIONS ON THE OVERALL MILITARY WISDOM OF MBFR (BONN 5339), THE FRG WILL FOR POLITICAL REASONS CONTINUE TO AFFORD STRONG SUPPORT TO THE MBFR ENTERPRISE. CAUTION, CONCERN FOR POSSIBLE NEGATIVE

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CONSEQUENCES AND INSISTENCE ON CALCULABILITY AND A PHASED APPROACH HAVE ALWAYS CHARACTERIZED THE GERMAN MBFR POSTURE. THESE BASIC CONSERVATIVE MOTIVATIONS HAVE NATURALLY STRENGTHENED AS THE PREPARATORY TALKS AND THEN THE ACTUAL NEGOTIATIONS ENSUED; THEY WILL DOUBTLESS AUGMENT AS WE APPROACH THE CRUNCH PHASE OF MBFR-I AND, EVENTUALLY, WHAT BONN CONSIDERS THE "EUROPEAN PHASE-MBFR II".

4. DESPITE SUCH CAUTION, WHICH IS SHARED BY THE
USG, UK, FRANCE, ITALY AND MOST OTHER NATO ALLIES, WE
CONTINUE TO BELIEVE THAT THE GERMAN MBFR REP'S PRIVATE,
NUMEROUS SPECIFIC OBJECTIONS--WHICH RANGE FROM THE
SERIOUS TO THE SPECIOUS--DO NOT, TAKEN AS A WHOLE,

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ACCURATELY MIRROR THE OVERALL FRG POSITION ON MBFR. THUS, DESPITE BEHREND'S CAUTION ON FRG PARTICIPATION IN MBFR-II, THERE REMAINS THE FUNDAMENTAL DEMAND BY THE DEFENSE MINISTRY, WHICH HAS BEEN ENDORSED BY THE GERMAN CABINET, FOR TIGHT LINKAGE BETWEEN THE PHASES OND MBFR II BUNDESWEHR "REDUCTIONS". MOREOVER, FONOFF AND

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DEFMIN SOURCES HAVE INDICATED SUPPORT FOR A FORMULATION TO THE EFFECT THAT "ALL" DIRECT PARTICIPANTS WOULD PARTICIPATE IN MBFR-II REDUCTIONS. THE DEFENSE MINISTRY CONTINUES TO EVINCE SOME MISTRUST CONCERNING THE POSSIBILITY OF THE US TAKING A HEALTHY CHUNK OF MBFR-II REDUCTIONS "TENTATIVELY ALLOTTED" FOR THE EUROPEANS (I.E. BUNDESWEHR). SHOULD THE NEW BRITISH GOVERNMENT WISH TO TAKE SOME MBFR-II CUTS IN THE BAOR, THIS GERMAN POSITION WOULD GAIN NEW SUPPORT.

5. IN CONTRAST TO WORRIES OF THE FRG AND UK REPS- REPORTED IN REF A, PARAS 5 AND 6, REGARDING THE NEED FOR POSSIBLE INCREASES IN EUROPEAN FORCES, THE FRG, UK AND OTHER EUROPEAN REPS IN NATO ARE DVCATING A "NON-INCREASE OF FORCES AGREEMENT" (SEE USNATO 1931), WHICH IS OF COURSE CAREFULLY LIMITED IN DURATION AND OTHERWISE CONDITIONED. IN FACT, ARGUMENTS ABOUT INCREASING EUROPEAN FORCES STRIKE US AS CURIOUS IN VIEW OF PROSPECTIVE BRITISH DEFENSE BUDGET CUTS, PROPOSED REDUCTION OF ITALIAN CONSCRIPTION SERVICE (USNATO 2226), ATTITUDES TOWARD DEFENSE IN DENMARK AND THE LOW COUNTRIES AS WELL AS THE OVERALL DECLINE IN PROSPECTS FOR EUROGROUP AND EUROPEAN DEFENSE COOPERATION (BONN 3993 AND 492L). IN FACT, IT IS THESE WORRIES OVER EUROPEAN DEFENSE IN AN AGE OF DETENTE, WHICH UNDERLIES DEFENSE MINISTER LEBER'S STRONG DETERMINATION TO ASSURE BUNDESWEHR PARTICIPATION IN PHASE II TO DEFLECT THOSE HE TERMS THE "EUROPEAN MANSFIELDS", AND TO UTILIZE AN MBFR COMMON CEILING AS A "COMMON FLOOR" BENEATH WHICH WEST EUROPEAN FORCES SHOULD NOT BE FURTHER REDUCED.

6. ARGUMENTS ADVANCED BY EUROPEAN MBFR REPS IN PARAS 8-L2 OF REF A SEEM LESS URGENT--STABILIZING MEASURES CAN BE DRAFTED TO TAKE ACCOUNT OF ALLIED TRAINING REQUIREMENTS, OR SPECIAL UN PEACE-KEEPING MISSIONS, WHICH THE POLES SOMETIMES PARTICIPATE IN; THE BUNDESWEHR FOCUS IS ON DEFENDING THE LONG NORTH TO SOUTH DEMARCATION LINE ALONG FRG EASTERN BORDERS; WE KNOW OF NO SHIFT IN FRENCH ATTITUDES TOWARD WEU LIMITATIONS ON THE FRG; FUTURE FRG PUBLIC PRESSURE WILL

BE FOR REDUCED DEFENSE EXPENDITURE AND A STREAMLINED
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BUNDESWEHR (AS IN THE FRG FORCE STRUCTURE PROPOSAL)
RATHER THAN "UNCONTROLLED GROWTH"; THE GERMANS HAVE
SHOWN SOME INTEREST IN A RECIPROCAL NUCLEAR FREEZE;
AND THE FRG CONTINUES TO ATTACH CONSIDERABLE IMPORTANCE
TO A NON-CIRCUMVENTION PROVISION COVERING HUNGARY,
THUS WIDENING THE MBFR AREA, AND ALSO ACCOMMODATING
ALLIED FLANK INTERESTS.

7. WE FULLY AGREE WITH THE USDEL MBFR CONCLUSION (IN
REF A) THAT "THE NEGOTIATION IS AT PRESENT CONSIDERED
SOLELY AS AN EFFORT AT DAMAGE LIMITATION, BOTH WITH
REGARD TO THE POSSIBILITY OF AMERICAN REDUCTIONS AND TO
THEIR OWN PARTICIPATION IN COMMITMENTS VIS-A-VIS THE
SOVIET UNION". SINCE MBFR BECAME A SERIOUS PROPOSITION,
THAT IS WHAT IT HAS ALWAYS BEEN FOR THE ALLIANCE. WHILE
THE COURSE OF THE COMPLEX NEGOTIATIONS WILL
TURN UP NUMEROUS NEW PROBLEMS AND DANGERS,
THE FRG CAN BE EXPECTED TO BACK THE PROJECT AS LONG AS
THE US ATTACHES IMPORTANCE TO MBFR, TAKES ADEQUATE
ACCOUNT OF VITAL GERMAN INTERESTS AND MAINTAINS THE
POSITION THAT AMERICAN MILITARY CONTINGENTS WILL ONLY
BE REDUCED IN AN AGREED ALLIED MBFR FRAMEWORK. THIS IS
BECAUSE FRG IS FULLY COGNIZANT, AS ROTH, RUTH AND THEIR
SUPERIORS HAVE OFTEN EMPHASIZED TO US, THAT MBFR IS THE
ESSENTIAL INSTRUMENT IN BEATING BACK PRESSURES FOR
SUBSTANTIAL AMERICAN TROOP REDUCTIONS. WE THINK A TRULY
NEGATIVE GERMAN ATTITUDE TO MBFR AND SUPPORT FOR
HANDLING ALLIED TROOP CUTS STRICTLY WITHIN WESTERN
COUNCILS WOULD ONLY BE LIKELY TO DEVELOP IN THE FACE
OF INSURMOUNTABLE CONGRESSIONAL PRESSURES FOR UNILATERAL
US REDUCTIONS. MEANWHILE, BONN IS LIKELY TO SEEK
THROUGH POLITICAL COMMITTEE DISCUSSIONS IF POSSIBLE,
BILATERALLY IF NECESSARY, TO STAY IN CLOSE CONTACT WITH
THEIR EUROPEAN COMMUNITY PARTNERS ON IMPLICATIONS OF
MBFR FOR EUROPE AND ON HOW BEST TO COUNTER ANY PERCEIVED
DANGERS.
HILLENBRAND

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